

THE
New POPE:

Or, a true
ACCOUNT
Of the
CEREMONIES and PROCEEDINGS
In the

Conclave at *ROME*,
Upon the *POPE's* Death, for
the Election of a New Pope, ac-
cording to the Constitutions and
Ceremonials.

As also,
The CORONATION and CAVALCADE.

Translated out of the *French* by J. D.

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Volume

*An Historical Account of the
Ceremonies at the Election
of a Pope.*

ROME, having heretofore
rais'd it self to that Great-
ness as to become the Seat
of the World's Empire,
continu'd its possession
thereof for many after-Ages. During
that vast Interval of time its Coun-
cils had an Influence over the Affairs
and Concerns of most Nations; the
Changes and Revolutions of States
were regulated by its Policies; and
its Judgments were Legislative to all
places over which the Roman-Eagles
had spread their victorious wings; in
a word, the general Emergencies of
the Universe are the ordinary discourse
of the Inhabitants of this great City:
and on the contrary, what is done in

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it employs the reflections of all those who have heard of its name.

But as it hapned heretofore at the death of any of its Emperours, all eyes were upon it, to observe the management of an Election, which they thought contributory to their happiness or unhappiness, though as yet the Jurisdiction related only to temporal Concerns: so is it since it became the Seat of a spiritual Monarchy and Hierarchy. For upon every vacancy in *This*, the whole Christian World is inquisitive to know what passes in a conjuncture of so great importance, to the tranquillity and advantage of *Christendom*, and wholly taken up with a consideration how worthy or how happy that subject ought to be, who is to fill a Chair exalted above all the Thrones upon earth.

As therefore every one thinks himself concern'd in this exaltation to the Papal Dignity, so does every one imagine he hath a right and freedom to speak, and give his judgment of it. Accordingly hath it hapned, that all the

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circumstances of so celebrated and sacred an action have been so well observ'd, and thought of such consequence, that the Memorials thereof have been transmitted to after-Ages; to the end it should be known, with what extraordinary precautions they were to proceed upon the like occasions, in order to the prevention of those misfortunes and disturbances, which the long continuance of a vacancy hath many times occasion'd in the Church. But what occasions long vacancies, and how far they are to be imputed to the interfering Interests of those temporal Princes, who think themselves more nearly concern'd in the Election, is not our business here to determine: Only this seems rationally deducible from their proceedings therein, that they would demean themselves with a greater indifference, as to the Election, were they less perswaded, that the Person once elected must be acknowledg'd Supreme Pastor of the Catholick Church.

But in process of time, through the

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prudent provisions, which the Popes have made by their Constitutions: things are reduc'd to a certain order, so as that there is the less ground of fearing those fatal Accidents, wherewith the Church hath been but too much afflicted by so many schismes, most of which have deriv'd their birth or growth from the long continuance of *Conclaves*. And the City of *Rome* seems from that time to have attain'd a better constitution, so as not to be subject to any disturbance during that *Interregnum*; of which it is the design of this Discourse to give a particular Account, by discovering what is done, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but also those of the *Conclave* it self, upon the occasion of a Vacancy in the See Apostolick, and representing the Ceremonies observed at the Exaltation of a Person to a spiritual Jurisdiction and Supremacy.

As soon as the Pope hath submitted to the Laws of Mortality by resigning up his last breath, or seems past all hopes of recovery, the Cardinal Pa-
trone,

trone, who is ordinarily the *Nephew*, and entrusted with the management of State-affairs, sends an account of his condition to the several Cardinals and Embassadors: by the Prelates he dispatches to them, and orders all the considerable prisoners to be remov'd out of the ordinary Prisons to the Castle St. *Angelo*, in regard that immediately upon the Pope's death the Senate and People of *Rome* set open the prison-doors, and give liberty to all those whom they there find in restraint.

Soon after the Cardinals and Embassadors make their Visits to the *Cardinal Patrone*, condoling the loss he hath received by the Pope's death; and if it happen that any of them be in the Pope's Antichamber, when he is ready to expire, they are admitted into his chamber to see his departure, and to address their prayers to God for him.

As soon as he is given over for dead the Cardinals, and all the Officers, who had lodgings assign'd them in the Palace, dislodge themselves and go to
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their houses in the City, save only the Cardinal, who has the title of *Chamberlain*, whose privilege it is to continue still in the Pope's apartment.

There are in the Sacred Colledge of Cardinals, (whose number is by the Constitution of *Sixtus Quintus* limited to seventy) three principal Charges, which admit not of any vacancy upon the Pope's death, but only upon theirs who were possessors thereof. Those are that of *Chancellour*, (who yet assumes only the title and quality of *Vice-Chancellour*, though there be not any other Person above him) that of the *Grand Penitentiary*, and that of *Chamberlain*.

The Functions of the two former Charges are sufficiently known by their Names; but the third is in its greatest lustre during the vacancy of the See, though the person who is possessor of it be at all other times chief of the Chamber of Accompts and the Finances of the Holy See. But when, and as long as there is no Pope, he commands the *Swisses* of the Guard, who

who had belong'd to the deceas'd, and they keep Guard about his Palace, and follow him up and down the City. He orders the coynage of money, on which there are engraven his own Armes under those of the vacant See, which are two Keys crossing one th: o-ther under a Canopy. He has this further priviledge, to be present with the three Chiefs of the Order of the Cardinals, (that is to say, the *Dean* of the Sacred Colledge, the first *Cardinal-Priest*, and the first *Cardinal-Deacon*) in all the Assemblies they shall hold during the vacancy of the See, to advise with them about the Affairs of the Church. It belongs also to the *Cardinal-Chamberlain* to see all things ordered relating to the *Conclave*, which he disposes to whom he thinks fit after the Election of a Pope.

The chief Officer of the *Datary*, the *Secretaries*, and all others who are intrusted with Seals of any kind, which they had had from the deceas'd Pope, bring them immediately upon the first news of his death to the *Cardinal-*

Chamberlain, who, in the presence of the Auditor, and the Clerks of the Chamber (who are the Masters of Accounts) and of the Grand Treasurer (who is Surintendant of the Finances or Revenues) orders them to be broken, that no foul play or forgerie be done with them; And the *Ring of the Fisher*, which is of Gold, and valued at about a hundred Crowns, after it is broken, belongs to the Masters of the Ceremonies.

It is also incumbent on the said Cardinal to send notice at the same time to all the Cardinals, the Senate, and people of *Rome*, of the Pope's death, and the three Chiefs in point of Denomination (there being three different *Classes* of Cardinals, according to the difference of their titles; to wit, six titles of *Episcopal* Cardinals, fifty of *Priesthood*, and fourteen *Deacon*-Cardinals) send the like notice to all the other Cardinals, to make their appearance in the Hall of the Consistory that very Evening; or if that cannot be done with convenience the next morning

ning to take order for all the Charges which shall be vacant upon the Pope's death, and to appoint a Governour of the *Conclave*, and of *St. Peter's*, which is the most fortify'd Quarter of *Rome*, and wherein lie the Castle of *St. Angelo*, the Church of *St. Peter*, and the *Vatican* Palace, and where the *Conclave* is ordinarily kept; and they all go with the Roquet uncover'd, as a mark that the Sovereign Spiritual Authority is devolv'd into their hands, as having then no Superiours over them. Those who are Creatures of the deceas'd Pope are clad in Violet, as are also the other Cardinals, but with this distinction, that the borders and ornaments of their garments are red.

In the meantime the Pope's Almoners, after they have wash'd the Corps, cloath it with his Cassock, his Roquet, his Camad, and his Caloth, and by a secret pair of stairs convey it to the Chapel of *Sixtus*, which is in the Palace. There it is received by the Penitentiaries of *St. Peter*, who vest him so as if he were going to celebrate

brate Mass, setting on his head a Mitre of cloth of Gold, with all the other Ornaments peculiar to this Ceremony; and among others the *Pallium* and *Pan-nona*, which none is to wear but only the Pope in his Pontifical Habili-ments.

Being thus habited, they lay him on a Couch in the midst of the Chappel, with a silver Cross upon his breast, and two Cardinals Hats at his feet, representing his spiritual and temporal authority. Ordinarily, there are but a dozen Torches set about the Corps, and no Canopy.

The Congregation of Cardinals being risen, the Creatures of the de-
ceas'd and his particular servants come into the Chapel; where, after they have said certain prayers for his soul, the Canons of St. Peter make their entrance with their Crosses, with every one a wax candle in his hand, and taking the Corps they carry it into one of the Chapels of their Church, where it lies expos'd for the space of three days to the sight of all the people,

ple, who are admitted to kiss his feet and hands.

After the expiration of those three days, the same Canons, accompany'd by the Relations of the deceas'd (the Church-doors being shut) dispose the Body into his Sepulchre, in case he had ordered any to be made in his lifetime; but if not, they cover it with plaister in some part of their said Church, till his Sepulchre be made ready, which the succeeding Pope, if he be a Creature of the deceas'd, does ordinarily cause to be made at his own charge, together with one for himself, in such Church as he shall think fit to make choice of: Yet is it to be observed, that the Body is to continue a whole year deposited in the said Church of *St. Peter*; after which it may be buried any where else, and the Translation of it is celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; and they use in that Ceremony a particular Herse-cloth embroidered, which the Clergy of *St. Peter* are oblig'd to get made for every Pope immediately after his Election,

Election, which **Cloth** is carefully laid up, during the life of the said Pope.

The first day after the departure of any Pope being over, the Cardinals employ the mornings of the nine subsequent days in having Dirges sung for the repose of the soul of the deceased; and on the ninth the Funeral-Oration is made; after which all the Cardinals come about the Quire beset all with lights, under which there is a Bed of State, and five among them (of which number the Cardinal, who says Mass is one) with black

on, having given holy-water and incense, say the Suffrages and accustomed Prayers.

All the days next following the said Dirges of the said Cardinals meet in the Sacristy of St. Peter, to name the Officers of the Conclave, and to settle other affairs of the Ecclesiastical State. The Embassadors make them proffers of the Assistance of their Masters, in order to the security and freedom of the Conclave. At their coming

ing in, they make a genuflexion, and speak standing and cover'd; and at their departure thence they make the like genuflexion. The House of the *Ursini*, and that of the *Colonna*, as being the chiefest Houses of *Rome*, are also receiv'd into it, but kneeling and bare-headed. They pretend that they have a privilege to offer with their own service, that, of all the other *Roman* Princes and Lords. These latter on the contrary, (whose Body is called the *Baronage*) are not willing to acknowledge any dependence on the former two Houses, and ordinarily make choice of the most ancient Person of their Body to make their *Harangue*. This Contest upon the death of *Urban* the Eighth, occasion'd the *Ursini* and the *Colonna* to forbear going at all, and yet the *Baronage* was admitted to make proffers of their service.

The ten days above-mentioned being expired, on the eleventh the Cardinals have a Dirge sung at
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St. Peters, one of them celebrating Mass in Honour of the Holy Ghost, after which there is a Sermon preach'd, wherein they are exhorted to divest themselves of all passion and self-interest in the Election they are to make of a good common Father of the Church. After which they make their entrance by way of Procession into the *Conclave*, the Musick singing the *Veni Creator*, and lay their Crosses in the Chapel *Paulina*. The Dean being come up to the Altar says the Prayer, *Deus qui corda fidelium*: which ended, the Cardinals take the Oath appointed for the observance of the Constitutions of former Popes concerning the Election of the new one. That done, every one goes to dinner in his own Apartment, which had been assign'd them in the Palace, for the preparing of their sustenance during their abode in the *Conclave*, they being not permitted to come out of the Palace till they have chosen a Pope.

All that day the *Conclave* lies open, to satisfy the curiosity of the people, who

who are permitted during that time to visit it ; and towards the Evening every one withdraws into his Cell, and about three or four hours after, the *Cursors* or *Heralds* put out the multitude, crying aloud *Extra omnes*. But the Embassadors, who had spent the eleven daysaforesaid in visiting all the Cardinals at their severall Lodgings, come to see them once more in the *Conclave* ; and as soon as they are come out thence, (which they commonly do last of any) the chief Person of the House of the *Savelli*, as Hereditary Marshal of the Holy Church, locks the door of the *Conclave*, sets a Guard at it, and hath an apartment adjoyning thereto, out of which he is not to stir either night or day till there be a Pope chosen. At the last *Conclave*, there arose a Contest between him and the Governour of the said *Conclave* about the Keys of it ; but they were adjudg'd to the Prince *Savelli*, as having been in former times in the possession of his Predecessors. The keeping of the Keys within the *Conclave* belongs

to the Cardinal-Chamberlain and the Master of the Ceremonies.

In the door of the *Conclave* there is a little square window, which may be shut on both sides within and without, and is not open'd, but only when Embassadors or some other Person of Quality brings some very important advertisement or intelligence to the sacred Colledge, and then they direct their Speech through the said Window.

According to the Constitution of *Pius* the Fourth every Cardinal may have two men with him to wait upon him in the *Conclave*; but Princes and the more ancient Cardinals may have three and no more: and these persons are called *Conclavists*, who all joyning together oblige all the Cardinals to take an Oath for the Observance of their priviledges. Nor can any of the Cardinals balk the taking of the said Oath, out of a fear of the reproach which might be made him of his desire to be Pope. Their Priviledges consist in having ten thousand
Crowns

Crowns out of the Chamber, to be divided among them, and all the vacant Benefices, not exceeding two thousand Crowns Revenue.

Moreover, it is further requisite, according to the foresaid Constitution of *Pius* the Fourth, that the *Conclavists* be actually menial servants to the said Cardinals at the vacancy of the Holy See, and that they had been in their service for the space of a year before. With this further *proviso*, that the Ministers of Princes, Persons possess'd of

temporal Seigneuries, having the rights of the Administration of Justice annex'd thereto, as also persons employ'd in Traffick and Commerce; and lastly, the Brothers or Nephews of Cardinals, cannot be chosen by them for their *Conclavists*, though they were their Domesticks, and receiv'd wages or salaries from them.

To this kind of persons there are added also two others, one for the service of the two Masters of Ceremonies, and the other, for the Secretary of the Sacred Colledge.

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tion nevertheless, that the servant of of the Masters of the Ceremonies ought to be actually a Domestick of one of them, and have been such for the space of six months before: which condition is in like manner requisite in the servant to the Secretary of the Colledge of Cardinals.

Besides the Cardinals and their *Conclavists*, the two *Masters of Ceremonies*, the *Secretary* of the Colledge, and their servants there are also shut up in the *Conclave* a *Penitentiary*, to receive Confessions, and resolve such Cases of Conscience as may be propos'd to him; as also a *Sacristan*, with a Chaplain to assist him in the service of the Sacristy, a *Physician*, an *Apothecary*, and a *Chyrurgeon*, with one or two servants, and the Drugs and Medicines requisite for the relief and accommodation of the indispos'd; a Carpenter, a Mason, and about twenty Porters or servants of the meanest sort, to be employed in the carrying of wood, sweeping the Chambers and the streets of the Conclave, and

and to what other services may be necessary within. All these Officers and Servants are chosen by the Cardinals by plurality of voices, and are not to be taken out of the houses of any of the said Cardinals, and their Salaries are paid out of the Chamber.

As soon as they have clear'd the Conclave of all those persons, whom either their curiosity or some other occasion had brought thither, the Embassadors also being retir'd, and the door lockt on the out-side by the Marshal of the Conclave, who has the Keys of it, and is to see it guarded, the three Cardinals, Chiefs of the three different Classes, accompany'd by the Cardinal-Chamberlain, and one of the Masters of Ceremonies, who have the custody of the Keyes within, (as hath been observ'd already) go with Torches all about the Conclave, visiting all parts of it, to see if there be any there who ought not to be, and whether the shutting up of the Conclave be performed according to the Constitutions:

And the next day, immediately after dinner, there is a review taken of all the *Conclavists* and *Servants* in the Chapel, out of which they are ordered to go one after another, to be examin'd, whether they have the qualifications requisite for their admission, as also whether they exceed not the number appointed by the said Constitutions.

But, before we come to a particular Account of what passes among the Cardinals in the Conclave, it will not be amiss to say somewhat of what is done in the mean time, in reference to the Government of the City.

Upon the News spread abroad of the Pope's death, the Senate and People of *Rome*, (that is to say, the Consuls of the City) being assembled in the Capital, cause it to be publish'd through all the streets by beat of drum, order the prison-doors to be open'd, and set at liberty all they find in restraint, thereby signifying that the Jurisdiction of *Rome* during the Vacancy of the Holy See, is devoted to them. They order
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all the Inhabitants to keep a candle lighted at their Window during all that night, and enjoyn the Captains of the several Wards or Quarters, (whose Companies consist of men, whom the Inhabitants of all Ranks and Orders, (excepting only both the *Roman* and *Foreign Nobility*) are oblig'd to furnish them withal, to the number of one for every House with their Armes) to keep strict Guards day and night, every one in their Lodgings, and to take their several rounds and *patronilles*, to prevent the disorders which are many times very great, proceeding hence, that such as have been hardly or injuriously dealt with, during the precedent Papacies, do for the most part defer their resentments thereof to the next vacant See; so that it happens many Murthers and Assassinations may be committed. Not but that Justice is very severely administred at that time, and with greater expedition, then at any other; but if the Murtherers and other milchievous persons be not surpriz'd in the very Facts, and

can make a shift to abscond themselves and keep out of the way till the Creation of a new Pope, they return to their habitations as if they had committed those crimes in some other Countrey.

All the Cardinals, Embassadors, Princes and Lords about *Rome* raise Souldiers for the guarding of their Palaces and their Houses, and they among the Cardinals who have any pretensions to the Papacy are more careful in this particular then the others, by reason of the priviledge the people assume to themselves of pillaging them as soon as they are chosen.

There passes not a day without some Processions, which from all Churches and Monasteries take their way to *St. Peter's*, and about the *Conclave*, singing as they go the Hymn *Veni Creator*, to implore the assistance of the Holy Ghost and its Inspirations upon the Cardinals.

The *Conclave* consists ordinarily of three Galleries, and twenty five or thirty withdrawing-rooms or Chambers,

bers, all of a floor, from the *Vatican-Palace* of equal height with the *Gallery* which is over the *Portal* of *St. Peter's*, which is the ordinary place of the *Benediction* given by the *Pope* to the people after his *Coronation*, and upon the great *Festivals* of the year : Which *Gallery* makes also part of the *Conclave*. In all which *Galleries*, *rooms* and *chambers*, they make partitions of boards for so many *Cells* as there are *Cardinals*. Every *Cardinal* hath a *Cell* assign'd him about five paces in length, and about four in breadth, with a little wardrobe proportionable thereto. The *Cells* are taken by lot, and every *Cardinal* is to take that the number whereof he finds in his lot : and whereas it happens that the *Cardinals* are not all of them, during the whole time, confin'd within the *Conclave*, either upon the account of sickness or absence, the *Cells* which are not taken up are divided among the next neighbors, who make this advantage only of the absence or indisposition of others, that their rooms are somewhat enlarg'd thereby;

but the absent or sick Cardinals, returning into the Conclave, reassume their Cells, and so oblige those who had made use of them to content themselves with their own divisions.

They among the Cardinals, who were Creatures of the deceased Pope, hang their Cells within and without with Cloth or Serge of a violet colour, and the others with green Serge, all setting up their Armes over their doors, which they make fast only with two staves crossing one the other after the form of a St. *Andrews* Cross. The Officers and Servants of the Conclave have their quarters assign'd them in some remote part.

At three or four avenues of the said Conclave, there are Turning-Boxes, like those in the Monasteries of Nuns, through which the meat sent in to the Cardinals and their *Conclavists* is received. Their Partizans and Servants attend their meat as they were wont to do their persons when they were at liberty.

Before

Before the entrance of the Cardinals into the *Conclave*, there is a List taken of all the Prelates then about the Court of *Rome*, and the Governour of it appoints every day, two in the morning, and as many in the afternoon, every one in his rank, to be present at the said Turning-Boxes, to visit and observe whatever is sent in to the Cardinals, to prevent the sending in of Letters or Notes with the meat: They are also to hinder all persons from speaking to them or their *Conclavists* at the said Boxes, unless they speak aloud, and in the *Italian* or *Latin* Tongue, that every one may understand what is said; inasmuch as by the *Constitutions*, it is matter of Excommunication to talk of, or to enquire what is done within the *Conclave*.

But notwithstanding all the caution and vigilance us'd as to this particular, yet cannot some abuses be prevented; and people come to know what passes there. This happens sometimes by the way of Notes or Advertisements in
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writing, which they find means to get in, either by the connivance of some Prelates, who are unwilling to disoblige the Crowns and Princes, whose Partizans they are, as they think they should do, by obstructing their having intelligence of what passes. Sometimes also this is attributed to the Cardinals themselves, who do it to promote their different engagements and affections, or to prevent prejudicing their hopes, or that their precautions are really eluded. Another way yet, where there may be a discovery made of proceedings in the *Conclave*, is, a secret kind of language beforehand, studied and agreed upon between the *Conclavists*, and their Correspondents, whereof they make their advantages when occasion serves, comprehending under the supposititious termes of household-stuffe, Relations, or domestick Affairs, concerning which they enquire News, the Names of such Cardinals as are propos'd, or excluded, or that stand fair for the Papal dignity; and so by disguiz'd
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discourses, and an affected Jargon applicable to divers senses, disclosing what is most secretly carried on in the *Conclave*.

Yet is there not any thing to be objected against the shutting up of the *Conclave*, since it is done with all the exactness imaginable. For the Chimneys are close done up at the tops, and the windows of all the rooms and Galleries are in like manner stop'd to within a foot of the upper part, which small distance is clos'd with coarse linen cloth, whereby a little light comes in; but so that if the Cardinals have any occasion to write or read, they must always have a wax-candle standing by them. And thence it proceeds, that not receiving any supplies of fresh air from without, and that within being many times infected and corrupted, they are apt to fall sick, especially when the *Conclaves* are of long continuance.

The twelfth day after the Pope's death (the first, as hath bin already observ'd being spent in conveying the Body into one of the Chapels of St. Peter's Church, and the nine subsequent days in celebrating Ob-

Obsequies and singing Dirges for the soul of the deceas'd, and holding the ordinary Congregations at the end of the said Dirges; and the eleventh, in the Cardinals taking possession of the *Conclave*, which for all that day lies open to satisfie the curiosity of the people, who come not out of it till three or four houres after night) all the Cardinals resident about the Court of *Rome*, having shut themselves up in the *Conclave*, inasmuch as by the Constitution of *Gregory XV.* there can be no warrantable proceeding to the Election, till the shutting up of the *Conclave* be compleated, and acknowledged such by a publick Act, which is made thereof at the request of the Master of the Ceremonies: All these things being thus order'd in the morning of the said twelfth day, before they apply themselves to any thing concerning the Election, the three Cardinals, Chiefs of the several Orders, and the Cardinal *Chamberlain* give a Commission to some within, to take an exact Survey of all parts of the *Conclave*,

clave, to see that it is close and well shut up of all sides. Which if they find accordingly, after they have made their report thereof to the Company, it is form'd into an Authentick Act, the substance whereof amounts to this, That the Conclave is close and shut up, as it is requir'd it should be by the Constitutions, and accounted and reputed such by the Sacred Colledge of Cardinals. And this Ceremony is so essential, and of so absolute necessity, that there would be a nullity in the Election, which should be made without this precedent Act. And as long as there is no Declaration contrary to that of the shutting up of the Conclave, that is, till such time as it shall have been declared by the Suffrages of two Thirds of the Cardinals, that there is an overture of the said Conclave, it is always accounted and reputed duly shut up; And the Election which might be made after the publication of the Closure, cannot be disputed as to nullity, under pretence of any overture hapning afterwards, if
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the Declaration of the Overture had not been made with the advice of two thirds of the Colledge of Cardinals.

The Cardinals are permitted to hold their capitulary Assemblies or Congregations, to agree among themselves upon certain Articles, before they engage upon the business of the Election. These Articles are to be sign'd by all, even those which concern the privileges of the *Conclavists* heretofore mentioned, before or after their entrance into the Conclave, provided always that the Election be not retarded thereby.

There is also a further examination made, before they fall upon any thing touching the Election, whether among the Cardinals there be any one that hath not receiv'd the order of Deacon, to the end he might not be admitted to give his voice, inasmuch as he is excluded by the Constitution of *Pius IV.* unless he had obtain'd permission in writing from the deceas'd Pope to do it. Nay, it hath sometimes heretofore come into debate, whether a Cardinal, on whom silence had been impos'd before

fore the Pope's death, could give his Suffrage for the Election of another Pope? But this question was decided by *Pius V.* who, by the Decretal of *January 26. 1571.* declar'd, that that imposition of silence was only a Ceremony introduc'd only to keep the Cardinals in a certain advertency (before they were admitted to give their voices and Suffrages, as the Consistories and Congregations wherein they were to assist) of that modesty and reservedness, which they were oblig'd to express in those and all other Acts, but not to deprive them of their power and principal function, which consists in the Election of a Pope. And this Constitution hath ever since been inviolably observ'd.

The shutting up of the Conclave introduc'd at the Council of *Lyons*, by the constitution of *Greg. X. 1274.* having therefore bin duly acknowledg'd and verifi'd, the Cardinals (being adverti'd by the ringing of a Bell to resort to the Chapel *Paulina*, which is within the compass of the Conclave, if not diverted by sickness)

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on the very morning of the twelfth day, go to hear Mass, and communicate, as they are oblig'd to do, and immediately after ought to proceed to the Election. Which Election, at the present, by the Constitution of *Gregory XV.* confirmed by another since of *Urban VIII.* cannot be made, otherwise then by one of these three formes and manners following; to wit, either by way of *Inspiration*, or by *Compromise*; or lastly, by *Scrutiny* and *Access*; all which it is but requisite that we explicate, and make as intelligible as may be, that it may be the more easily comprehensible, with what extraordinary circumspection and wise precautions they are guided, in an affair of so high consequence.

The first means or method of choosing the Pope, which they call the way of *Inspiration*; or as it is exprest by the Sacred Canons *As-it-were-by-Inspiration*, is, when all the Cardinals in general, and every one in particular, with a common voice, as being inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, are unanimously

mously agreed, without any one contradicting it, and without any precedent particular treaty, and do freely concur to the acknowledging and proclaiming of such a person Pope. Concerning which manner of Election we are to observe the following Circumstances, which are necessarily requisite by the *Gregorian* Constitution, which is a perfect Directory, as to the ways of proceeding at Elections, and observ'd at present without any contradiction.

The first circumstance is, that this kind of Election cannot be allowably made any where but in the Conclave, and that after the publication of its being duly shut up.

The second is, that this Election is to be made by all in general, by every one of the Cardinals in particular, who are present in the Conclave, by a common Suffrage, and without contradiction from any one.

The third circumstance is, that there must not have been any precedent Proposal, or particular Treaty, in reference

to a choice to be made by this kind of way, which ought to be clearly exprest by this word *Eligo*, I chuse, pronounc'd with a loud and intelligible voice, or, for want of pronounciation, to be expressly set down in writing.

The Roman Ceremonial gives an instance of an Election, which might be allowably made by this kind of way, which brought in hither will render the business more clear.

It is said in the forementioned Ceremonial, that if any one of the Cardinals, after publication of the shutting of the Conclave, (there having not been any precedent particular treaty about the person whom he would propose) should say, for example, in a full Chapel, addressing his speech to the whole Sacred Colledge, *My Lords, having always observ'd the rare and excellent Qualifications and Vertues of my Lord the Cardinal N. and having an esteem for his remarkable Integrity, it is my judgement that we cannot make choice of a worthier subject to be Pope, and thereupon I from this present give him*
my

my Suffrage, and chuse him for Pope.
 And that afterwards all the Cardinals, with one voice, without excepting any one, being of the same opinion, and all of them intelligibly pronouncing one after another the same word, *I chuse him*; or not being able to pronounce it, setting it down in writing, that person would be canonically chosen, and acknowledg'd for a true and legitimate Pope, by that way which they call of *Inspiration*, or *As-it-were-by-Inspiration*; which in regard it is immediately attended by Adoration, is thence commonly called the way of Adoration.

The second manner of proceeding in the Election of the Pope, is the way of *Compromise*, which is, when the Cardinals, either immediately after their entrance into the Conclave, or wearied out with its long continuance, refer themselves to one or more among them, whom they empower to make provision, in the name of all, of a common Father to the Catholick Church.

And this kind of Election is practis'd conformably to the *Gregorian* Bull, and the conditions and provisions contain'd therein, which may also be reduced to three.

The first is, that all the Cardinals in general, and every one in particular, who are present in the Conclave, not one contradicting or opposing it, ought to make a *Compromise* in writing, whereby they invest those persons whom they take for *Compromissaries* with an absolute power and faculty to make provision of a Pastor for the Holy *Roman* Church, yet with an observance of the forme, as also the Clauses and conditions inserted and express'd in the *Compromise*, and to do it within the time prescrib'd thereby: the said Cardinals, promising to acknowledge and account the person, whom the *Compromissaries* shall have thus chosen, according to the extent of that power which had been granted them by the *Compromise*, the true and lawful Pope.

The second circumstance is, that it is not permitted any one of the *Compromissaries*

promissaries should give himself his own voice, otherwise his Election should be null.

The third condition is, that the *Compromissaries* are oblig'd twice every day to assemble, in order to their conferring together, and promoting the execution of the *Compromise*; in the morning immediately after the hearing of Mass, and in the Evening after the recitation of the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the Prayer of the *Holy Ghost*, to implore its illuminations upon them. But before they fall upon any thing of business, they are wont to make this Protestation precedent thereto, *That they would not be understood to give their consent by all sorts of words or Expressions which might fall from them in the heat of the Debate, if they do not expressly set it down in writing.*

When they have absolutely agreed upon the choice of any person, and have propos'd him as such to the Sacred College, he is to be immediately acknowledged as true Pope, and Canonically elected.

These two ways of *Inspiration* and *Compromise* are not now much in use; but the way of *Scrutiny*, or of *Scrutiny* and *Access* joyned together, is the most ordinarily practis'd, wherein there are many Ceremonies to be observed.

For the Election of a Pope by this last way, it is requisite, according to the Constitution of *Alexander* the Third, in the Year of our Lord M C LXXX. made at the Council of *Lateran*, that there should be two thirds of the voices of the Cardinals; which hath been confirm'd by subsequent Bulls, and in our Age by those of *Gregory* XV. and *Urban* VIII. And it is further requisite, that in the two thirds of the Voices, that of the Cardinal chosen be not included, inasmuch as there is a prohibition upon pain of nullity of Election for any one to chuse himself, or give himself his own voice.

They are oblig'd twice every day to take the *Scrutiny* and the *Access*; in the morning, after Mass; and in the Evening,

vening, after the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the Prayer of the *Holy Ghost*, which are said in the Chapel *Paulina*, at which the Cardinals are oblig'd to be present, if not detain'd by indisposition, immediately after the third ringing of the Bell.

There is a great secrecy to be observ'd in the *Scrutiny* and *Access*, and the manner of proceeding therein may be reduc'd to three principal actions. The first is the previous or *Fore-Scrutiny*; the second, that of *Scrutiny* and *Access*; and the third, that of the *Post-Scrutiny*, or what follows the *Scrutiny* and *Access* as soon as they are completed.

The particular explication of these three different actions will give us a fuller comprehension of this way of *Scrutiny* and *Access*, and give us to understand what it is, by distinguishing them as they are found explicated in the *Roman Ceremonial*.

The *Fore-Scrutiny* may be distinguish'd into five principal Acts: the preparation of the *Billets* for the

Scrutiny and *Access*; the taking out by lots, the names of the *Scrutators* and *Deputies*, who are to collect the Suffrages of such as are indispos'd; that of writing them in the *Billets* of *Access*, that of folding them, and that of sealing them.

The Masters of the Ceremonies are the persons who take care for the preparation of the *Billets*, which they cause to be printed according to the forme hereafter set down, as well for the *Scrutiny* as *Access*. They put them into two Basins upon a Table before the Altar; those of the *Scrutiny* by themselves in one of the Basins, and those of the *Access* in the other; in number so many as there are Cardinals.

The Figure of the *Billet* of the *Scrutiny* is such, that the length exceeds the breadth. It is about a hands breadth in length, and about half as broad. The outside of the *Billet* comprehends three things; in the upper part of it are written these words, *Ego Cardinalis*, with as much distance between the one and the other, as may be requisite for the setting





ting down of the Cardinal's name who gives his voice, and a little lower there are two little Circles denoting the places where the Seal is to be set.

In the midst of the *Billet* are imprinted these words, *Eligo in summum Pontificem Reverendissimum D. meum, D. Cardinalem*--I chuse for Supream Bishop the most Reverend Lord, my Lord Cardinal.—

In the third and lowest part of the *Billet* are in like manner imprinted two little Circles, denoting also the places of the Seal, and all the rest is blank.

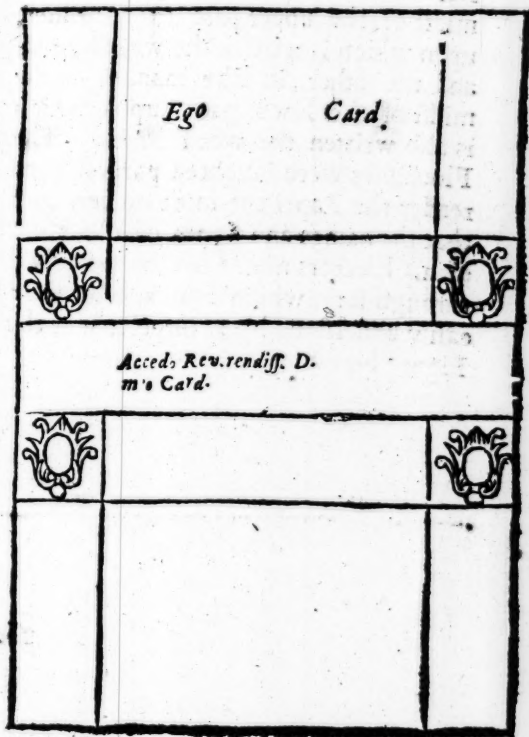
The form and figure of the *Billets* for the *Access*, is in all respects like that of the *Billets* of the *Scrutiny*, save only that in the midst of them, in stead of these words [*Eligo in summum Pontificem Reverendissimum D. meum, D. Cardinalem*] these are inserted, *Accedo Reverendissimo D. meo, D. Cardinali*, that is to say, I give again my voice to my most Reverend Lord my Lord Cardinal. But these things will be more easily comprehended by exhibiting here the figures of the *Billets*.

*The Figure of the Out-side of the Billet of
the Scrutiny.*

	<i>Ego</i>	<i>Cord.</i>	
			
<i>Eligo in summum Pontificem Rm. D. nem D. Cardin.</i>			
			

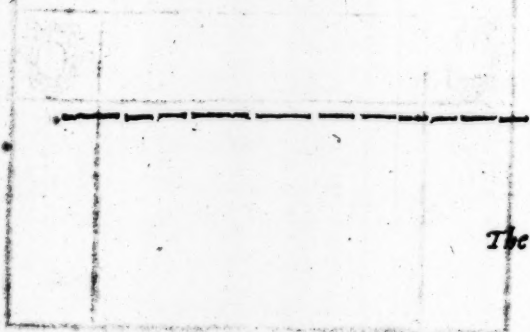
(43)

*The Figure of the Out-side of the Billet
of Access.*



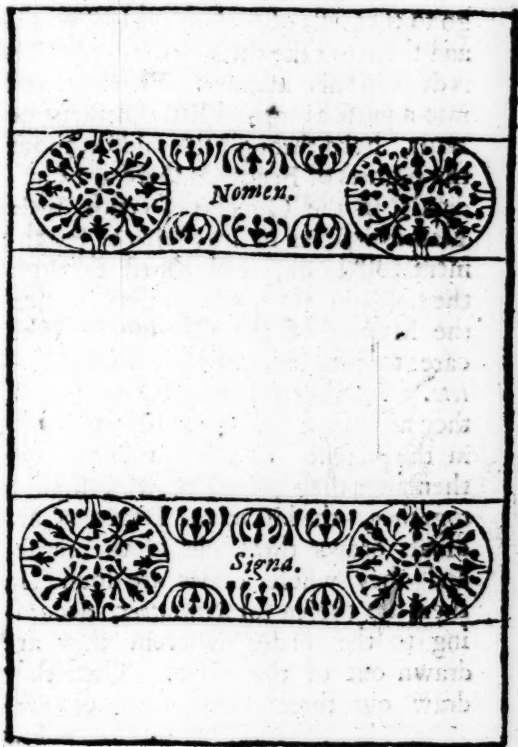
(44)

Upon the other side of the *Billets*, as well those of the *Scrutiny*, as those of the *Access*, there are imprinted certain *Bordures*, or Flourishes, one about the midst of the upper part of the Billet, upon which is written the word *Nomen*, and the other in like manner in the midst of the lower part, upon which is also written the word *Signa*. The Flourishes were invented purposely to render the Paper the more obscure, and that the names and signes of the Cardinals Electors might not be perceiv'd through it: which will also be more easily understood by an inspection of the Figure here annexed.



(45)

*The Figure of the other side of the Billets
of the Scrutiny and Access.*



The second Act of the *Fore-Scrutiny* is, that of drawing by lot, the names of the Scrutators and the Infirmaries, who are the Cardinals appointed to go to the Cells of such as are indispos'd, and there to take their Suffrages, which is done in this manner. There are put into a purse as many little Bullets or Balls, hol'd through the middle, about the bigness of Beads, as there are Cardinals in the Conclave, with their Names written in little snips of Parchment roll'd up, and thrust through the holes in the little Bullets, which the Masters of the Ceremonies take care to provide, as they do the *Billets*. As they are put into the purse they are counted all one after another, in the presence of the Cardinals, and then after they have been well shaken together, the last of the Deacon-Cardinals draws three out of the purse, and they whose names are found in them are chosen for *Scrutators*, according to the order wherein they are drawn out of the purse. Then they draw out three others for the *Infirmaries*

maries or *Deputies*, who are to go to such as are sick. And that done, the little Bullets are return'd into the purse. Twice a day, that is, in the morning and afternoon before the *Scrutiny*, there is an Election made of the said Officers. But if it happen that they draw the names of any of the Cardinals that are sick, or cannot by reason of some other impediment acquit themselves of the function of the said charges of *Scrutators* and *Infirmaries*, there are others drawn in their stead.





The third Act of the *Fore-Scrutiny* consists in setting down what is to be written in the *Billets*, and in the filling of them by the Cardinals with their own names, and the name of the Cardinal to whom they give their Suffrages, and their Signets. To do this, every Cardinal, according to his rank, beginning with the Dean or most ancient, goes and takes out of the Basin where in the *Billets* of the *Scrutiny* are standing upon the Altar one Billet,
and

and thereupon retiring into one of the two or three little Desks or Seats prepared for that purpose, and furnished with Pen and Ink in the midst of it, or to some other part of the Chapel, so expos'd to the sight of all, that they may easily see him writing, but not discern what is written; and taking his seat prepar'd also near the Desk, he fills up his Billet thus; in the upper part he writes between these words [*Ego*

Cardinalis] his own name; in the midst of it he inserts the name of him to whom he gives his voice, with some difference and disguise of character as much as he can, according to the Bull of *Gregory XV.* that it may not be known by the writing: and in the lower part of the Billet is written some certain number in figures, according to his own phantasie, with some sentence out of the holy Scripture, or somewhat of that nature. The figure of a Billet fill'd up will render what we have said more manifest to the eye.

(49)

*The Figure of the Out-side of the Billet
of the Scrutiny.*

	<i>Ego Fra. Card. Barb.</i>	
		
<i>Eligo in summum Pontificem Rm D. meum D. Card Capineum.</i>		
		
	<i>IO In manibus tuis sospes me.</i>	

The *folding* of the *Billets* is the fourth Act of the *Fore-Scrutiny*: It is no hard matter to comprehend how it is done. By the fold which is made of the Bill t, in the upper part of it, the corners whereof are to be turn'd down upon the marks of the Seal, the name of the Cardinal Elector is cover'd. In like manner, by the folding which is made of the lower part of the Billet, the corners whereof are also to be laid over the marks of the Seal, the Signes are likewise cover'd. After these two foldings, they fold it so often as is requisite to reduce it to the breadth of an Inch or thereabouts.

There remains yet the last Act of the *Fore-Scrutiny*, which consists in *sealing* the *Billets*, the form whereof is as easily conceivable, as that of the precedent folding. Every Cardinal before his entrance into the Conclave, must have furnisht himself with a Seal, unknown to the others, purposely grav'd for this occasion, containing some fancy or character, or simple-figure, the impression whereof may be easily

easily perceiv'd. With this Seal the Cardinal makes an Impression on the back of the Billet, at the places design'd by the little Circles, on which the Masters of the Ceremonies, before the putting of the *Billets* into the Basins, had clapt little bits of red wax.

These things thus perform'd, the Cardinals proceed to the second principal Action called the *Scrutiny*, which the Ceremonial hath distinguish'd into eight particular Acts. These are, the *carrying* of the *Billets* to the Altar; The taking of the *Oath*; The putting of the *Billets* into the *Chalice* prepar'd for the reception of them; The mixture which is thereupon made thereof; The *numbring* of the *Billets*; The *Publication* of the *Scrutiny*; The *Filing* of the *Billets*; And the *laying* of them aside, either upon some part of the Altar, or upon the Desks of the *Scrutators*, or in an empty Chalice.

The carrying of the Billets to the Altar, the taking of the Oath, and the putting of the *Billets* into the Chalice, are three acts, so consequent one to the other, that it is no hard matter to make a joynt imagination of them. And to that end, presupposing that every Cardinal hath at the Desk (as aforesaid) fill'd up the *Billet* of the Scrutiny with his own name, the name of him, to whom he gives his voice, and the ordinary signs, that he hath folded it, and seal'd it, according to the precedent explication, he takes the said *Billet* with the two fore-fingers of the right hand, he carries it openly up to the Altar, where the *Scrutators* are standing at the Desk, which had been there prepar'd for them; and being come thither, he falls down on his knees, and makes a short prayer; after which, rising up, with a loud and intelligible voice, he takes the Oath according to the forme, wherein it is transcrib'd in a Table upon the Altar, in these termes, *Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicaturus est, me eligere, quem,*

quem, secundum Deum, judico eligi debere, et quod idem in Accessu præstabo.
 That is to say, I Attest *Iesus Christ* my Lord, who is to be my Judge, that I chuse him, whom according to God's Will I think fittest to be chosen; and that I will do the like in the Access. Having thus taken the Oath, he lays his Billet upon the Cover of the Chalice, and with the Cover he puts it into the Chalice, and thereupon making an obeisance to the Altar, he retires to his place.

This Ceremony is observ'd by all the Cardinals, who are able to come up to the Altar, For if it happen, that any one of the Cardinals then present in the Chapel is not able, by reason of infirmity, to come up to the Altar, the Junior of the Scrutators takes the Basin, wherein the *Billets* of the *Scrutiny* are, and carries it to him, out of which the indispos'd Cardinal having taken a *Billet*, he secretly fills it up, at his own Desk, folds it, and seals it, as is before-mentioned; and after he hath taken the foresaid Oath in the place where he is, he delivers his said *Billet* to the

Scrutator, who openly carries it up to the Altar, and without any Prayer or Oath lays it on the Cover, and with the Cover conveys it into the Chalice. The same thing is done towards all the indispos'd Cardinals who are in the Chapel.

But as to those Cardinals, who, by reason of sickness are not able to stir out of their Cells, the *Infirmari*-Cardinals chosen by lot to go and receive their voices, go to the Desk of the *Scrutators*, and take from their hands a Box with a hole in the upper side of it, having a Lock and Key to it about a hands bredth high. This Box is publickly opened by the *Scrutators*, before the delivery of it to the *Infirmaries*, to the end that every one of the Cardinals may see it is empty, and that done they lock it up with the Key, which they lay upon the Altar, and then give the Box to the *Infirmaries*, who, having taken a little Basin, with as many *Billets* therein as there are Cardinals sick in their Cells, go to them.

The indispos'd Cardinals having taken their *Billets* out of the Basin, se-
erely

cretly fill them up, fold them, and seal them, and after they have made the ordinary Oath, put them into the hole of the Box.

If the Cardinal's sickness be such as that he is not able to write, he makes choice of such person as he thinks fit to fill up his Billet. But the said person so appointed to fill it up, is oblig'd to make Oath before the *Infirmaries*-Cardinals, that he will not reveal the secret then entrusted to him: And this he is bound to do, not only upon the Obligation of the said Oath, but also upon pain of incurring excommunication *ipso facto*.

The Suffrages of the indispos'd Cardinals being thus collected by the *Infirmaries*, they return to the Chapel, deliver the Box to the *Scrutators*, who opening it, take out the *Billets*, which after they have been numbred, they lay, one after another upon the Cover of the Chalices, and with the Cover convey them into the Chalice.

But to the end the *Scrutiny* may not hold too long, and that it may be
carry'd

carry'd on without any interruption, (as it is requir'd by the Balls) the *Infirm*-*mary*-Cardinals, before they go to the indispos'd, may fill the *Billets* with their voices immediately after the Dean-Cardinal; and then, while the others make the *Scrutiny*, address themselves to the sick to collect their Suffrages.

The mixture of the *Billets* makes the fourth Act of the *Scrutiny*, and consists in the shaking of them well in the Chalice with its cover on, which is performed by the chiefest of the *Scrutators*, who, to that end, takes the Chalice from the Altar, and holding with one hand by the foot, and having the other upon the Cover, shakes the *Billets* so as that it may not be discover'd which were put in first, which last.

The numbring of the *Billets* is the fifth Act, immediately following the mixture thereof, and is performed by the *Junior* of the *Scrutators*, who takes them one after another out of the Chalice, and counts them, and puts them
into

into another empty Chalice prepar'd for that purpose. If the number of the Billets be not equal to that of the Cardinals, they are all burnt, and without removing out of the place they renew the *Scrutiny*. But if the number be equal they proceed to the other subsequent Acts of the *Scrutiny*.

The Publication, which is the sixth Act, and ought to be done by the *Scrutators* sitting at their Desk placed before the Altar, is thus performed. The chief *Scrutator* takes a Billet out of the Chalice, which he unfolds, without breaking the Seals of it, and having discover'd and seen the name of him to whom the Suffrage is given by the *Billet*, he delivers it to the second *Scrutator*, who having also seen the same name puts the *Billet* into the hands of the third *Scrutator*, who reads it with a loud and intelligible voice, so as that all the Cardinals present in the Chapel may hear it, who having before them their names set down in a printed sheet of paper, wherein opposite to every name there are lines drawn

drawn to the right hand and to the left, upon which they make as many dashes as a Cardinal hath voices. Upon the line on the right hand they are to mark the votes of the *Scrutiny*, and on that to the left those of the *Access*. And this Ceremony is observ'd in the publication of all the Billets from the first to the last.

Here place the Catalogue.

If

A Figure of the Printed sheet which every Cardinal hath lying before him, whereupon to mark the Suffrages of the Scrutiny and Accest.

Accest: Day Suffrages month

R. Fran Barberin
 R. Ginetti
 R. Ant. Barberin
 R. Palotta
 R. Eranciacco
 R. Carpegna
 R. Harach
 R. Durazzo
 R. Gabrielli
 R. Ursino
 R. Fachinetti
 R. Grimaldi
 R. Rosetti
 R. Ludovisio
 R. Cybo
 R. Siortia
 R. Odescalchi
 R. Raggi
 R. e Retz
 R. Homodei
 R. Orthobono
 R. Imperiale
 R. Eorthomaso
 R. Santa Croce
 R. Spada
 R. Albici
 R. Aquaviva
 R. Chifi
 R. Ilcio
 R. Farneze
 R. Respighiofi
 R. Bonviti
 R. Bichi
 R. Palavicini
 R. Eandinelli

Accest: Day Suffrages, 1667.

_____ dono
 R. Barbarigo
 R. Arragon
 R. Boncompagno
 R. Litta
 R. Corsino
 R. Bonelli
 R. Piccolomini
 R. Caraffa
 R. Palutio
 R. Rasponi
 R. De Comitibus
 R. Nini
 R. Roberti
 R. Spinola
 R. Visconti
 R. Caraccioli
 R. Delphini
 R. de Thun.
 R. d'Est
 R. Donghi
 R. Rondanini
 R. Maldachini
 R. de Affia
 R. Carl. Barbarino
 R. Pio
 R. Gualtieri
 R. Azzolini
 R. Vecchiarelli
 R. Franconi
 R. Manchini
 R. Celfi
 R. Perretti
 R. Vendosme
 R. Moncada.

Present in the Conclave _____

Able it upon sicknesse, from the Scrutiny-Palavicini.

Absent from Court-Arragon.

The number is 70.

R
R
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R
R
R
R

R & M

If it should happen in the Publication, that the *Scrutators* found two *Billets* so folded together, to any ones thinking, as if they were brought in by one and the same person; if in both these *Billets* there should be found one and the same thing, and one and the same Cardinal named, they shall be counted but for one; but if there be a diversity of Suffrages, neither is worth any thing, yet shall not there be any defect in the *Scrutiny* upon that score.

Moreover, the publication being compleated, they set down in two or three sheets of paper the names of all the Cardinals who have had voices, with the number of the voices; to the end, that when there is any occasion, they should not be oblig'd to make any new enumeration of the Suffrages, which the Cardinals might have mark'd and cross'd on the side of their names upon the lines of the printed sheet, of which we spoke before.

The two last Acts of the *Scrutiny*, which are the filing and laying aside of the *Billets*, are performed by the *Junior* of the *Scrutators*, who, after he hath with a loud voice publish'd the name of the Cardinal who hath the Suffrage by a *Billet*, files the said *Billet* with a needle provided for that purpose, at the place where the word *Eligo* is written. And after he hath so filed all the *Billets* immediately after his publishing them, he tyes a knot on the thing, and then lays them aside, either on some part of the Altar, or on the Desk of the *Scrutators*, or in an empty Chalice.

The third and last principal Action perform'd at the Election of a Pope, by way of *Scrutiny* is, in the Ceremonial called the *Post-Scrutiny*; which, if the Election be compleated by the *Scrutiny*, (which very seldom happens by reason of the different Factions in the Conclave) comprehends three Acts or Circumstances only, to wit, the numbring of the *Billets*, taking a review of the Suffrages, and burning the

the said Billets. Bnt if the Pope be not chosen by the *Scrutiny*, there are seven remarkable Circumstances in the *Post-Scrutiny*; to wit, the *Access*, the opening of the Seals and Signs, the remarks made thereof upon the printed sheet, the examination or confrontation of Suffrages, the review of the *Billets*, and the destroying of them by fire.

The *Access* therefore, which is the first Act or Circumstance of the *Post-Scrutiny*, immediately follows the deposition or laying ~~aside~~ of the *Billets* of the *Scrutiny* in some part of the Altar or elsewhere, when the Election is not compleated by the *Scrutiny*; otherwise, if the Pope were once chosen, there would be no place for the way of *Access*, inasmuch as it were of no advantage, as being introduc'd to supply the defect of the *Scrutiny*, whereby, as hath been observ'd, we seldom find the Election compleated, by reason of the diversity of the Factions.

There are observed in the *Access* the same things as in the *Scrutiny*, as well

well in reference to the manner of filling the *Billets*, folding them, sealing them, carrying them to the Altar, and putting of them into the Chalice, as to that of numbring them, and making publication of them, noting the Suffrages, filing and depositing the said *Billets* aside, save only that there is an observance of these circumstances following.

The first is, that the Cardinals go and take their *Billets* in the Basin of the *Billets* prepar'd for the *Access*, which stands upon the Altar, as does that of the *Billets* for the Scrutiny.

The second is, that if a Cardinal be unwilling to give his voice to any one, (which he is at liberty to do) he must remember, in the midst of the *Billet*, in stead of the Cardinal's name, to whom he should have given his Suffrage, to write down the word (*Nemini*) To no body. Now it is to be observ'd, that the *Billet* of *Access* is to be fill'd with the same signes; and seal'd with the same Seals, and as the *Billet* of the

Scrutiny.

Scrutiny, upon pain of nullity of the Suffrage of *Access*.

The third is, that one cannot make *Access*, (that is, give his voice a second time) to the person of a Cardinal, who had not had at the least one voice by the *Scrutiny*; nor yet to the same person to whom he had given his voice by the *Scrutiny*.

The fourth is, that though a Cardinal is not permitted to nominate several persons in the *Access*, as he is not permitted to choose divers by the *Scrutiny*, upon pain of nullity of the Suffrage as well of the *Access* as the *Scrutiny*; yet is it lawful for him, to give his voice by *Access* to one of many who had been nam'd in the *Scrutiny*, though with nullity of Suffrage, provided he had elsewhere procured of some other a Suffrage, which was not null.

The fifth is, That there is no taking of the Oath anew in the *Access*, in regard it had been done before, for the *Scrutiny* and *Access*.

The

The sixth and last circumstance is, that the *Infirmaries* are oblig'd to carry to the sick Cardinals, with the *Billets of Access*, one of the sheets upon which they had marked the number of the voices which every Cardinal had in the Scrutiny, publickly and duly verify'd.

The second, third, and fourth Acts of the *Post-Scrutiny* are, the opening of the *Seals* and *Signs* of the *Billets of Access*, the marking of it upon the sheet, and the examination or confrontation of the Suffrages, which are practis'd only when the Election is compleated by the *Scrutiny* and *Access*, and thus put in execution.

The chief *Scrutator* takes the *Billets of Access* filed, as they were upon the publication of them, and opens only those which contain voices in favour of the Elect, in the lower part of them which comprehends the signes; then after he hath exactly consider'd the Seals and the said Signes, he presents the said *Billets* as they are filed to the second *Scrutator*, who also takes a view of them, and then delivers them to the third,

third, who having made the same observation thereof, does, with a loud and intelligible voice, make publication of the *Seals* and *Signes* of the said *Billets*. That done, he marks down the *Seals* and *Signes* on the left side of a sheet of paper; where these words are imprinted, and under the said words (*Sigilla et Signa Accessuum*, that is to say, the *Seals* and *Signes* of the *Accesses*) which remark may also be made by all the *Cardinals*, if they think fit so to do, upon the like sheets which they have lying before them, upon their *Desks*.

This done, the said chief *Scrutator* takes the *Billets* of the *Scrutiny* from the place where they had been deposited, in order to the making of an examination or confrontation of the *Suffrages* which they contain, with those which are brought in by the *Billets* of *Access*. And beginning the examination at one of the ends of the string, on which the *Billets* are filed, he with the two other *Scrutators*, views the Seal of the first *Billet* of the *Scrutiny*, and then

F

seeks

seeks it out in the sheet, upon which
 the Seals and Signes of the *Billets* of
Access were marked. If he find it not
 there, leaving that first *Billet* of the
Scrutiny, he proceeds to the examinati-
 on of the second, taking a view again
 with the other *Scrutators* of the Seal,
 and then seeks it upon the same sheet,
 where not finding any thing like it,
 he quits the said *Billet*, to pass on to the
 examination of the third, and so of all
 the other *Billets*, till he meet with the
 Seal of some one of the *Billets* of the
Scrutiny, mark'd on the said sheet. But
 having found it, he opens the said *Bil-
 let* at the lower part where the signes
 are written, to see whether the Signes
 of the said *billet* are answerable to the
 signes marked upon the said sheet:
 which if they are not, he there quits
 the billet, and proceeds to the exami-
 nation of the next, and if he find the
 signes to be answerable and correspon-
 dent to those of the *Access*, marked up-
 on the said sheet, he shews them to the
 second and third *Scrutators*, who all to-
 gether, after they have maturely con-
 sidered

sidered the correspondence there is between the seals and signs of the billets of the *Scrutiny* and *Access*, observe whether in both the *billets* there be a nomination of one and the same Cardinal, or of divers Cardinals; For if the same Cardinal be named in both the *billets*, the Suffrage of the *Access* is null; in regard that (as hath been already observ'd) it is not lawful for any one to give his voice in both the *Scrutiny* and *Access* to one and the same person. But if there be a nomination of different persons, the Suffrage of the *Access* being good, then the third *Scrutator* does with a loud and intelligible voice publish the Seal, the Signes, and the name of the person elected by the billet of the *Scrutiny*, and makes a mark thereof upon his sheet under those imprinted words (*Sigilla et signa Scrutinii respondentia Accessibus*, that is to say, the seals and signes of the *Scrutiny* answerable to those of the *Accesses*) opposite, and on the side of the seals and signes of the billet of *Access*, whereto they are answerable, which note and

mark all the Cardinals may also make upon their sheets. But these Acts, which are more hard to be explicated, then to be put in execution, are always best understood by Figures thereof.

A Figure of the Printed sheet upon which they note and mark the Seals and Signes of the Access and Scrutiny, which are answerable one to the other.

Seals and Signs of the Accesses.	Seals and Signes of the Scrutiny an- swerable to those of the Access.	Cardinals named in the Scrutiny.
ACD 50 Deut.		
BRF 35 Bonitas	BRF 35 Bonitas.	Card. Car- pegna.
RGI 44 Beatitudo.	RGI 44 Beatitudo	Card S. Clement.
NSP 26 Gl. via.		

Note that the Letters of the Alphabet represent the Seal of the Billets.

If it happen, in this examination and confrontation of the Suffrages, that two, three, or some greater number of the

the *billets* of the *Scrutiny*, be found to have the same Seals and Signes with some billet of the *Access*, as it may come to pass, if the person who is chosen be named in one of the said *billets* of the *Scrutiny*, and another Cardinal be named in another of the said *billets*, then the *Scrutator* (his Colleagues observing what he does) is to open the billet of the said *Scrutiny*, wherein the said elected person is named, together with that of the *Access*, at the very place where the name of the Elector is set down, to the end a judgement may be made, according to the *Gregorian* Constitution, of the validity or invalidity of the *Access*. For if it be discover'd, that one and the same Cardinal hath given his voice to the elected in the *billet* of the *Scrutiny*, and by that of the *Access* there will be an invalidity in the Suffrage of *Access*, as hath been observed before, But as to the *billet* of the *Scrutiny*, wherein he who is elected is not named, it shall not be opened, and the *Scrutators* shall proceed to the examination and con-

frontation of the other Suffrages.

The fifth Act of the *Post-Scrutiny* is, the enumeration of the Suffrages either of the *Scrutiny* alone, or of the *Scrutiny* and *Access* together, which is made by the *Scrutators*, whether the Election ensue thereupon or not; if it do not ensue, it is done, to the end it may be known in that very *Scrutiny*, or in the *Scrutiny* and *Access* together, whether the Pope be not chosen; and if the Election do ensue, that it may appear, whether the Pope be canonically chosen or not.

Now the enumeration of the Suffrages is perform'd in this manner. The *Scrutators* reduce into one summe all the Suffrages which they have obtain'd, who were named either in the *Scrutiny* alone, or in the *Scrutiny* and *Access* jointly; and if they find, that not any one of the persons named, hath got two thirds of the Suffrages of the Cardinals, there is no Election at that time. But if, on the contrary, they discover that any one of the said nominated persons hath got just the two thirds

thirds and no more of the Suffrages, they, in that case, open the billet of him who is chosen, at the part where his name stands; which is the upper part of the billet, to see whether he hath given himself his own Suffrage, which if he hath, the Election is null'd, according to the *Gregorian* Constitution, by reason of the want of one Suffrage, it being not in his power to give himself his own, upon pain of invalidity; but if he hath given it to another, and that he have two thirds of the Suffrages the Election is completed.

Moreover, if it should happen, that several persons had obtain'd the two thirds of the Suffrages, or possibly some number exceeding the two thirds; in such case, through the parity and concurrence of the Suffrages, the Election would be null; but, if there be an inequality, he who surpasses the other in number, though it were but by one voice, is accounted and acknowledged for a true and canonically elected Pope.

The sixth Act of the *Post-Scrutiny* is the review which is made, whether there be any Election or not, by the *Commissaries*, drawn out by lot, to the number of three Cardinals, whom the Bulls call *Recognitors*, who take cognizance of, and look over, as well the *billets* of the *Scrutiny* and *Access*, as the notes and marks of the Suffrages made by the *Scrutators*, to verifie and confirm what they have done, if they have acquitted themselves of their Functions, with all the sincerity and fidelity whereto they were oblig'd. The said *Commissaries* are drawn by lot after the same manner, as the *Scrutators* and *Infirmaryes* had been; but still, after the compleating of the *Scrutiny*, if the Election be made thereby; if not, after the *Scrutiny* and *Access*, as soon as the *Scrutators* have finished the numbring of the Suffrages.

The seventh and last Act of the *Post-Scrutiny* consists in the burning of all the *Billets*, which belongs to the Function of the *Scrutators*, who cast them into the fire in the presence of the
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whole Colledge, immediately after the review made by the said Commissionated *Recognitors*, whether there have been any Election, or not. All the things before-mentioned ought to be observ'd twice every day; in the morning, after Mass; and in the Evening after the Hymn of the *Holy Ghost*; and this, till such time as the Church is provided of a Head and lawful Pastor, which custom hath been introduc'd, to prevent the long continuance of Conclaves.

Those persons who pretend to make assured judgments of Elections, are many times mistaken in their Conjectures, not only upon account of the diversity and clashing of interests, but also by reason of the ordinary alterations happening in the Colledge of Cardinals, by frequent promotions, which strangely invert the course of all proceedings in the Conclave, and destroys all the former measure which might have been taken of an Election.

Let not therefore any be over-positive as to what they assert, in a matter

so uncertain, and which finds so much exercise for the wits of the Citizens of *Rome*, whom the Air of the Countrey ordinarily entertains in a certain languishment, whence it comes that they spend the best part of their time in speculative discourses, and political divinations. They for the most part ground their reasonings on certain considerations of the time, when the Vacancy of the See happens, and then from the quiet or disturb'd posture of affairs, draw their consequences in favour of a person to be exalted into the Pontifical Chair in one season rather than another, according to the difference of the humours, and the vigour and force of the person. Some again reflecting on the length of the precedent Papacies, do commonly make their Conclusions in favour of those Cardinals who are well advanc'd in years. For the Sacred Colledge being wearied out with a long-continu'd subjection to the Government of the same person, takes resolutions many times to exercise a right which makes them

them considerable every where, and causes them to be courted by Crowns and Scepters, and the Princes, in that case pitching their choice upon ancient Cardinals. On the other side again, when it happens that, by reason of the great Age of Popes, the See comes to be too frequently vacant, they endeavour to exalt into the Pontifical Chair a person, who likely to reign some years, may re-establish and settle the Affairs of the Church, which might have receiv'd some prejudice by the frequency of mutations, and so prevent the troubles it would be to the Cardinals to remove themselves from the remote parts of *Europe*, once every year or two, to be shut up in the Conclave.

Moreover, as to the persons whose pretensions are considerable to the Pontifical Chair, there is a consideration had of their engagement to the Kingdoms and Provinces, where they had their birth or extraction. Whence it is affirmed by some, that the chiefeſt persons among the *Italians*, nor the *Tramontanes*, ought not to be advanc'd to the Papacy,
not

not only in order to the avoiding of partialities, but also by reason of the possession, or rather usurpation, which the *Italians*, from the time of *Hadrian VI.* are chargeable with, in having not rais'd to the Papal Dignity, but such as have been of their own Countrey, there having been from his time eighteen or nineteen Popes of the several Provinces of *Italy*, who have successively fill'd the Chair of *St. Peter*.

It is by some insisted on further, that, to be a subject fit for this elevation, he have not many Relations and Friends, that he may make the greater communications of his Grandeur, and that his benefits being not wholly exhausted upon his own Relations, he may exercise greater liberalities towards many others.

There are yet some among the *Romans* guilty of a superstition, which argues them not fully clear'd from the Augural humour of their Ancestors. These discover such an excess of weakness, as, by a kind of *Onomancy*, to search out of the names of the Cardinals

dinals some conjectures of their elevation ; and this out of a persuasion, that a subject, who shall not have in the name of his house the letter *R.* when the deceas'd Pope had not the said Letter in the name of his House, will hardly be chosen Pope ; and on the other side, that if the said deceas'd Pope had the said letter in the name of his House, the Cardinal who shall in like manner have it in his, can hardly be advanc'd to the Papacy ; by reason of an alternate succession of the names of Families, having, and not having the said letter *R.* which hath been observ'd to have happen'd without interruption during about fourteen Exaltations to the Papal Chair.

There are yet others so weak, as not to content themselves with this kind of superstition, but they must go and pick matter of divination, out of the brazen gates of *St. Peter's Church*, which they consult as Oracles, by the over-curious Re-searches they make, amongst the diversity of Figures, whereof they are full, for the Armes

of those Cardinals who aspire to the Papacy. And so their presages are in his favour, whose chance it is to have his Armes graven in some part thereof, and this upon no other account then that those of the last deceas'd Popes have been found there, which the People immediately after their Election have made the more remarkable by their polishing and clensing. True it is, that there are many of the Colledge of Cardinals, whose Armes may partly be found amongst the numerous multitude of Figures in the said Gates, but without any design of the Artist by whom they were cast.

But quitting these vain superstitions, we affirm further, that how strong and considerable soever their reasons may be for the judgment they make of an Election, it happens that they are for the most part mistaken. This disappointment proceeds from the changes hapning in the Conclaves, where
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parties and Factions are made, for the exclusion or inclusion of subjects, according to the variety of humours, affections and engagements. And as it is the design of every Faction to oppose the Elevation of a subject contrary thereto, so is it the business of it to be assur'd of a third part of the voices in order to the framing of Exclusions, wherein it is no hard matter to have their desire, by reason there is not any Cardinal that aspires to the Papacy, and hath the Qualifications before requir'd, but will readily joyn with all those who would exclude a subject, who might contest with him for the Dignity. And thence it for the most part comes to pass, that they who are thought to stand fairest for the Chair, are always most easily excluded.

The Factions most ordinarily fram'd in the Conclaves, are commonly reducible to two or three principal ones, all the rest joyning with the former, according

according to the different interests which they may have in the inclusion or exclusion of the subjects proposed. The Nephews of the deceas'd Popes are the ordinary heads of Factions, upon whom the Creatures of their Uncles have a certain dependence, and concur with them for the exaltation of those whom they are inclin'd to, and the exclusion of all others, not creatures of their deceas'd Uncles, especially when by reason of their long sitting in the Chair, they had the opportunity to make a great number of promotions. And this is done, to avoid the reproach of not having made choice of Creatures worthy to be advanc'd to so high a dignity, and of being expos'd to the inquisitions and inspections which a Pope, not being of their Creatures, might make into their administration of affairs. The Cardinals Protectors of Crowns are also Heads of Factions, to prevent the elevation of a subject, whom they suspect, or to promote to the Papacy some Cardinal well-affected to their interests. Those Sovereigns whose

whose Intentions incline most to justice and moderation, wish only a Common Father; and yet all many times under that pretence prosecute their own particular advantages.

There are also Brigues and Factions upon a National Account, as that of the *Roman* for instance; so as not to consent to the election of any one to be Pope, unless he be a *Roman*. Thus it happen'd at the Conclave upon the death of Pope *Urban VIII.* at which the lately deceas'd *Innocent X.* a *Roman* born was chosen. Nay, there are some Factions which carry on their designs with that subtilty and independency on the other Factions, that they make no publick profession of their declaring themselves for any in particular; and to follow their own inspirations for the advancement of such as are propos'd to the Papacy; and so vote for those whom they in their consciences think worthy of that Dignity. These are easily induc'd to joyn with any of the others, either for the exclusion of those whom they think unworthy

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worthy of that Elevation, or to give their Suffrages with those whom they think ably qualify'd to maintain with reputation the dignity of Head of the Catholick Church.

This diversity of Factions when they are of equal strength, so as the voices are equally parted, is ordinarily the cause of the long continuance of Conclaves. For being equally in a capacity of excluding the subjects propos'd of either side, and each of them promoting the elevation of those whom they are inclin'd to, the Heads of the said Factions make it their only business to hinder the Cardinals of their party, of whose voices they think themselves assur'd from ever giving their said voices in the *Scrutiny*, to any of the subjects propos'd whom they would exclude. And the design in this is, that the said propos'd subjects wanting still above a third part of the Suffrages cannot be chosen Popes against their consent, as it might happen by the *Access*, if any of the said Cardinals

of

of the contrary party had given them their voices in the *Scrutiny*. And hence it comes, that there are very few instances of any Pope chosen by the way of the *Scrutiny* alone.

But whereas none of the said Head-Factions can be fully assur'd of the voice of a Cardinal, by reason of the secret of the *Scrutiny*, which hinders the discovery of those who may change parties, and that whatever engagement any Cardinal may have made to the said Head Factions, either by word, oath, promise, or upon the score of gratitude, affection, or otherwise: he is dispenc'd from it by the late Bulls of *Gregory XV.* and *Urban VIII.* besides the precautions there are, that he be not suspected of having been wanting to his engagement, whereof he may avoid the blame and reproach by means of the secret of the *Scrutiny*, it happens many times, that the said leading Factions are mistaken in the computation of their Suffrages, and they want voices, yet cannot discover whence that want proceeds

and when they think themselves the most assur'd of an exclusion, one or two of their own Partizans having chang'd their humour or inclination, oither upon some disgust receiv'd, or greater hopes of establishment elsewhere, or other private considerations, and transferring their Suffrages to another party, some other is chosen Pope, who 'twas imagin'd would never have attain'd that dignity.

And whereas many among them, to prevent the elevation of such as they suspect, bestow their Suffrages, as it were, at random on some other Cardinals, whom they presume not fit to be advanc'd to the Pontifical Chair, it happens sometimes that some one is chosen Pope, who had not been thought of before; so that what may be most securely affirm'd of these matters is, that we cannot make any certain judgment of Elections; and that, through ways wholly opposite to those which humane policy had contriv'd, a more transcendent wisdom presiding over these great dispensations, disposes of
them

them quite otherwise, and turns and winds the spirits of those concern'd therein correspondently to those designs which it hath from all eternity over the conduct of the Church.

Assoon as any one is chosen Pope, the two principal Deacon-Cardinals conduct him from the place where they find him behind the Altar, where they vest him with the black Cassock, the Roquet, the Camail, and the red or white Calotte or Cap, according to the season, and put on his Slippers or Pantofles with the gilt Cross on them; they then bring him before the Altar, and set him in a Chair, where all the Cardinals come to adore him, that is to say, kiss his feet, hands and cheek. Thence he is carried to *St. Peter's Church*, where he is seated on the high Altar, and the Cardinals render him again the same Homage: then the Canons of the said Church come up to kiss his feet: and then he is carried to the ordinary apartment of the Popes, and the Cardinals retire to their Palaces.

The first thing that is broken about the Conclave is that part of the walls which shuts up the Lodg of the Benediction over the Portal of the Church; There the principal Deacon-Cardinal goes and places the Cross, and cries out to the people *Vivat N.* who is made Pope, and hath assum'd the name of *N.*

Some days after the Pope is crown'd in *St. Peter's Church*. To that end, the Cardinals, the Embassadors of Princes, and the principal Lords about the Court wait on him at his Apartment, whence they accompany him to the Church, and even into the Sacristy, whether he is carried in a Chair. There he is clad in his Pontifical habit, and at his coming out thence, he ascends a portable Theatre, upon which stands his Pontifical Chair, and is so carried up to the Altar, cross the Church, then ordinarily full of people assembled to see that Ceremony. Nay, in some parts of the Church, there are Scaffolds set up for the principal Lords and Ladies of eminent quality,

quality, who are desirous to be Spectators of that celebrated Action. He is preceded by the Cardinals and Embassadors, while all the people kneeling echo out their acclamations of *Long live Pope N.* Just at his coming out of the Sacristy, and his going up the said Theatre, is performed the Ceremony of setting fire to Flax fastened at the end of a stick, and held up as high as his person, with these words, *Sanctæ Pater, sic transit gloria mundi; Holy Father, thus does the glory of the world pass away*, as an advertisement to him, that he suffer not his heart to be surpriz'd with vanity, at that Elevation, while he sees all the people under his feet. In the midst of the Church the same Ceremony is reiterated, and is again performed a third time, when he is come up to the Altar.

Being come down from the Theatre, he says a Pontifical Mass, whereat the most eminent amongst the Embassadors or Princes, who had

accompany'd him, minister to him at the washing and presenting the Towel. At which Mass there are some extraordinary prayers said, as we find them in the Ceremonial. The Mass ended, he is carried to the Lodge of Benediction, where in the Presence of all the people then assembled, in the spacious place of *S. Peters*, the Chief Deacon-Cardinal takes off his Mitre, and sets on his head ~~the~~ three Crowns, or Triple-Crown, telling him, that he is to consider himself from thenceforward as the Common Father of Kings and Princes, for the maintenance of Peace amongst them. That done, he gives the Benediction, and is afterwards carried back to his Apartment.

There is yet another thing he is to do after his Coronation, which is to go and take possession of his Bishoprick, which is *St. John's of Lateran*. To do that, he appoints what day he thinks fit. The streets through which he is to pass are hung with Tapistry, and there are some Triumphal Arches erected, representing the most remarkable

able Actions of his *Holiness's* life. And this is the order of the Cavalcade and Procession.

Four light Horsemen of the Guard go first to clear the way, then come the Carriers of the Valises and Mails belonging to the Cardinals, then the Judges and Fiscalls of the Governour of *Rome*, the Gentlemen of the Retinue of the Cardinals; Then all the Princes and *Roman* Lords, who ordinarily go confusedly, to avoid contesting about precedence, and have belonging to them a great number of Pages and Halberdiers sumptuously cloath'd. Then follow the ordinary Gentlemen of the Pope's House in Scarlet Robes. Then the white Gennets presented every year by the King of *Spain*, by way of Homage for the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, are led one after another, having their Harness of Crimson-Velvet, with fringes of gold, and bosses of silver; then come the white Mules, and three Litters, one of Scarlet, and the others of Crimson-Velvet both within and without, and gold fringes. Then
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the Pope's Trumpeters; his Taylor carrying his Valise; and the ten Officers of the Palace; the *Consistorial Advocates* in Garments of a violet-colour, furr'd with Ermine about the neck: all the honorary *Camerarii* in violet Cassocks and scarlet Cloaks, four of whom carry at the end of a staffe, every one of them, a Hat of the Pope of Crimson Velvet, with fringes of gold. Then follow several *Roman* Gentlemen, who have been *Conservators* (that is to say, *Consuls*) in their Garments and Caps of black Velvet, and after them the Apostolical Prelates in black Garments. The Auditors of the *Rota* in their ordinary habit, the Master of the *Sacred* Palace, who is always a *Jacobin-Frier*, the Embassador of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, the Captains of the several Quarters of *Rome*, richly clad, and the principal of them, whom they call their *Prior*, is in a Garment of Cloth of Gold, marching between the two Chancellors of the *Roman* people; Then the three *Conservators* of *Rome* in

in Vests of Cloth of Gold, and Caps of black Velvet, and their Horse-cloathes with fringes of Gold; On their left hand do ordinarily march the Chiefs of the houses of the *Ursini's* and the *Colonna's*, or one of them, when they cannot agree about precedence; Then come the Embassadors, and after them the Cross-Bearer, and with the Cross of his Holiness, the four Masters of the Ceremonies, with red Cassocks and violet Cloaks; fourscore *Estaffiers* of the Pope's, for he is oblig'd at his coming to the Papacy to take all the most ancient Standers among the *Estaffiers* of the Cardinals and Embassadors of Crowns, whom they call *Pal-freniers*, to distinguish them from the *Estaffiers* of persons of a lower rank, (as in *France*, they who are called *Lacqueys*, when related to persons of of ordinary Quality, are named *Valets de pied*, when they belong to Royal persons and Princes:) Then follows the Governour of *Rome*, and after him the Pope's Pages, when he has any, follow afoot,
and

and bare-headed. Next them immediately is conducted the Pope himself in a close Litter, having on each side of him the two grand Overseers of the High-ways, clad in black, on Horseback, and bare-headed, and all those who march between the Pope's Cross and his Holiness, what condition or quality soever they be of, are oblig'd to be uncover'd.

After his Holiness follow all the Cardinals mounted on their Mules, the Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Bishops and other Prelates, two and two, every one according to their Quality: and the whole Pomp is brought up and clos'd by the two Companies of the light Horsemen of his Holiness's Guard, armed cap-a-pied.

Being come to *St. John of Lateran's*, the Pope puts off his ordinary Habit, and puts on the Mitre and Hood, and takes up his Seat in a Throne which is prepar'd for him in the entrance of the Church, where the Canons of it come and kiss his feet. Then he goes to the Church-door, which he finds shut ;

shut; They give him the Key to open it; *Te Deum* is sung, after which the Pope ascends into the place of Benediction, whence he gives it to all the people assembled below.

As all the Pope's Tribunals cease during the vacancy of the See, so they begin not their Functions again till after the Pope's Coronation, upon which all Affairs reassume their ordinary course.

FINIS.
